

[Information on the "sacred maid", who was dedicated to the god of the chiefly lineage and under his protection, will be found in category 613. See especially pp. 237-239.]

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482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*baletu*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a *malo* of fish (*malo ita*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Takutaku or *valuyaka*: to pay out a line.

Wivuvu: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhead strokes.

Tupe or *luga*: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.

Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.

Wakumatu: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.

Tape: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.

Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.

Yaka or *moakoo*: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

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626 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua vavaine* (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities provided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia koe i te manu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ko koya*).

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225 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*jianga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for *bonito*, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, *Malokitehagi*, near the western reef channel to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a *malo*, some scum, or a fish-bone. The gift (*malakiva*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

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502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *kauyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*kaukau ki mua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a lee-board if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

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Formerly tapu existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309) and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a male or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

CARE OF CANOE

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*longe*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *his* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe was mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and ~~fastened~~ tied. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*wakamano* or *mas wakalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takave*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *his* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

CEREMONIAL DRESS

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly head-dress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consultations. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo-kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *epa hupenga*; that of the chief of Matkoga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *welo* fiber (*epa welo*); that of Tui for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *his* material (*epa laulili*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *le hupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumato henua* or *taumato aliki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

STONE SEATS

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*toketue-
laugi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
177 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tomu and Taea,
517 saw stone seats on the island of Wakaalava and introduced the idea on their
return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (30, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

324 The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ka, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wato-munava-mui, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the line of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 3 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

WALLS

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pa*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

HOUSE FOUNDATIONS

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 156.

STONE IMPLEMENTS

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412 Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tuhituki*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating *talo* and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

RELIGIOUS ENCLOSURES

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346 Religious enclosures (*auanga*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*umu*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess *Taia*, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

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172 Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupou on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village. Two of these sites were cleared.

At the religious structure of the god *Te Alouanga* there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 30 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god *Talikalo*. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god *Talikalo* was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of *Te Alouanga*. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods *Tamulivaka* and *Te Manikato* are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of *Tamulivaka*. One stone was left on that of *Te Manikato*. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 15 paces one way, 12 paces the other.

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No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the tala swamps, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright alab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12.p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

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[341] Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*jianga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the *seats* (*pois*) of the priests in the god house (*maia aiaa*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

GRAVES

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613 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*pa-paa*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

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341 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*maia motonga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[171] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, headstone grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (p.28).

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764 Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alii*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

172 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the
775 fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

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Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks; two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *mau tili* etc.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

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Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

ADZES

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Adzes (*tohi*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngali/nywa*), as shown by Macgregor (20, fig. 13).² They were attached directly to the haft (fig. 21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

2 [See 2: MacGregor, p. 76—analysis.]

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cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child my *ilamutu*; the child calls the father my *metaga*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

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Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (sic) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *inakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is *tapu*. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *inakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *inakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *inakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *inakava*.

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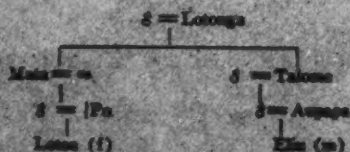
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Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *hainpe wakauna* or as *wale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *wale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *wale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *wale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hainpe wakauna*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hainpe wakauna* are *wale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *wale atua* are also *wale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hainpe wakauna* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *wale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *wale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *wale atua* or *hainpe wakauna* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



Mata and Talone are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotua and Elin, are *wale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elin and Lotua, of the opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other.

766 mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their houses.
 764 There is no record that a seclusion (*hailau*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general population: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

ACCIDENTAL DEATH

766 The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any
 768 other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial
 764 in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug,
 filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is
 supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*)
 serve as a memorial (*uakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*).
 When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman
 in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal
 lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred
 clearing (*yiosga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu
 place reserved for the god.

764 The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other.
 But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by
 a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the
 beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake
 in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave
 would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become
 gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became
 ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals.
 Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in
 a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

766 Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves
 were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of
 the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other
 place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

PRESENT-DAY PRACTICE

765 Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been
 modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the
 death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep
 watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night.
 All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a
 month or more to mourn (*taufo*). Most of them merely sleep in this house,
 going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners
 from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain
 from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
 773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the
 bird, Ngaliyeyu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
 782 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
 776 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communica-
 788 tion, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations,
 the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other
 hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any mem-
 ber of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing
 the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*,
 the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats
 the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands.
 This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free
 lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown
 on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the
 ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recog-
 nize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and
 788 Ngaliyeyu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
 air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lau ule kaina e!

Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affection-
ate address), hail!

Te matangi manino

(Make) the wind calm

Toka te vanga!

Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of
 776 religious structures: *yalaga*, *ouanga*, *oule oule*, and *pote*. The *pote* struc-
 [776] ture, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*pote*) in a god house, was a
 simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lavele, the god of clams, was

1778 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
 782 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
 226 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man
 returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in
 one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke o, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo,
 te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shell-
 fish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw
 his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach.
 By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest
 might also pray before this shrine.

1778 The god house (*wale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*), and the
 613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the
 functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house
 might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior
 lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance
 apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kaua*)
 owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wakaua*) of the major lineage had
 its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was
 powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure.
 In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses
 depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number
 of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized
 by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred
 clearing (*giongu ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

1778 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
 346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the
 number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat
 next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post
 were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there
 were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required.
 The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a
 round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was
 filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of
 the house was covered with fine white gravel.

1778 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
 713 tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many
 respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged
 in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the
 general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god
 house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might
 eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the
 lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

778 the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it
 793 seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and
 that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga welo*)—one associated
 778 with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongao, Taa, and a forgotten Yato
 796 god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung
 up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of
 778 other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today
 [771] the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in
 346 position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone
 795 (*nau*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral,
 of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was
 turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of
 two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the
 eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta*; the other on the west
 or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone,
 seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the
 god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his
 778 servant (*taita*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however,
 793 men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish,
 weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbing. No women assisted at this
 358 or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove
 tapa from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The
 routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as
 messenger for the priest.

778 Two worshiping structures are called *newu*, not *awanga*. These are *te*
newu o Tulikalo and *te newu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word
newu in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *newu* is the
 name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he vis-
 ited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *newu* is the name of
 attendant spirits, enclosures called *newu* are those where attendant spirits of
 the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yinga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues,
 bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later
 deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach.
 Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They
 were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were
 called *yinga tangata* made to distinguish them from the *yinga ole* clearings
 erected for the sacred maid (*weyehinga*) to walk on. Both types of clear-
 ings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

778 sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

778 A list, furnished by Talanga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

613 361 VILLAGE	LENGAGE	SACRED ENCLOSURE	SACRED CLEARING
Ngake			Malangatale Vakayala Kui-manula
	Muliwatu	Tumuliwaka ma Mula Te Vayi Yawaga	
	Matanga	Te Matakinos ma Maloki- telangi ma Tumallangi Te Akogaso Tafikalo	
Loto			Kui Te Atua-ngutu-uli Poiva ma Tankaava Wakakewiti
	i Tum	Mataliki ma Tamayei Te Ulu-takapan Tupole Tama	
	Yangaliyale	Kui	
Yato			i Te Unutulele i Lowia i Kailia
	Yamanga	Te Mamanga Tumalanga	
	Yakaga	Tawitonga Te Mamamanga	

MATERIAL REPRESENTATION OF GODS

778 The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of
114 uncut stone (now) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Tama; this is a big block of *punga*-coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, shell, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

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114 that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as *Ko-te-toka-mama* (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

PRIESTS

793 A priest was generally called a *wata*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *taupate wai etua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

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613 The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*pu*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*wakeyowings*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

793 Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dreams, experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no human requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morning the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*wakeyowings*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *lai taupate* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

793 During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*wakeyowings*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupia* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

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god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernatural power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uvio* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

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With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure.

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When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

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A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatulutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land *Yayake*. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "*Tulutulou te mea . . .*" (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

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Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

WARFARE

721 There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing
 669 groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule po (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

577 At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *wale* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

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 718 A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two males, the *malo* of semit and the *malo* of pandanus. The double-wound coils of semit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

714 Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale labau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale* *unakayones* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his *malo* at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

[765] Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*sewage ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the man of *Wale* supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antinatal ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tam, who

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173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
 166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
 669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
 621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened
 at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account
 recorded by Talainga.

THE FIGHT IN WALETOA

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
 173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
 669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was
 held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight
 men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao
 of Matanga and Tawain of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu,
 Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They
 wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at
 the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the
 spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the
 men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the
 reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was
 something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they
 were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Lau-
 papa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth.
 He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the
 group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers
 may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was
 coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he
 was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by
 the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult:
 "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te
 Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wail
 who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko
 who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down.
 He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of
 the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with
 civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the
 meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the
 many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened
 was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top
 of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

578 "The 'net' of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
 620 hung strips of *walo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
 a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
 the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was
 placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled
 only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but
 also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

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on the ground. The arrangement of slabs was demonstrated by a native (fig. 2). Two erect slabs formed the back, two horizontal slabs the seat, and slabs at each side the arms. The position of other slabs lying scattered on the ground suggests that they once stood on edge and formed a low enclosure.

These "seats" were built by the Eaki people who came to Pukapuka after the first settlement. In the legend of Manava Nui they were the places from which he watched for fish and turtles. The inference is that the Eaki used these structures as maraes for offering turtle and fish to the gods; their priests may have used the erect slabs as backrests, as was customary in the Tuamotus (2).

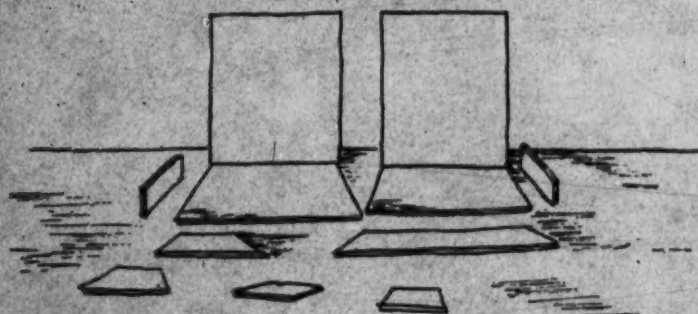


FIGURE 2.—Eastern stone "seat" of Manava Nui, sketch made from a miniature seat constructed by a native Pukapukan.

GRAVES AND BURIALS

The dead were formerly buried in the marae (*aoanga*) of the village. Due to a government order the maraes have been abandoned and houses have been built over them. It was difficult therefore to determine their number or boundaries or to learn their exact purpose in the former life. Some contained graves; others had graves near them. The burial ground of the *ariki* is still preserved. It is now used as a modern cemetery and contains graves of both pre-Christian and Christian times (pl. 1). The coral slabs that once marked the graves of an ancient cemetery at the western end of Aonga on Motu Kotava Islet were washed into the sea by the tidal wave of 1914.

On the southeastern shore of Motu Koe Islet are the graves of two Pukapuka warriors, Tuanua and Titake. Both these graves were dug in pre-European times. That of Tuanua remains intact and is